

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O R 151642Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2022

INFO SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

DIRNSA

USMISSION USNATO

USCINCEUR

USAFE

S E C R E T ANKARA 0370

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR,TU, US

SUBJ: TURKISH BASE NEGOTIATIONS: JANUARY 15

DISCUSSION WITH SECRETARY GENERAL ELEKDAG ON ASSISTANCE

REF: STATE 7662 DTG 130031Z JAN 76

1. ACCOMPAINED BY DCM AND MSA COUNSELOR, I MET THIS MORNING, JANUARY 15, WITH MFA SECRETARY GENERAL ELEKDAG, DIRECTOR GENERAL OF INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS YAVUZALP, AND HIS DEPUTY, ASULA, TO DISCUSS SECURITY ASSISTANCE "GUARANTEES" AND LEVEL IN ACCORDANCE WITH INSTRUCTIONS REFTEL. I BEGAN BY SUGGESTING THAT IN ADDITION TO THESE TWO KEY ISSUES, WHICH WE HAD NOT YET DISCUSSED IN ANY DETAIL, WE ADD TO ELEKDAG'S AND MY AGENDA IN THE DAYS IMMEDIATELY AHEAD TWO OTHER KEY MATTERS, NAMELY, RECONCILING OUR DIFFERENCES WITH RESPECT TO THE COMMAND AND CONTROL ISSUE AND WITH RESPECT TO THAT CLUSTER OF PROBLEMS WHICH WE ASSOCIATED WITH THE NATO/SOFA

EXTENSION. THESE ARE THE FOUR KEY ISSUES, I POINTED OUT,

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WHICH WE BELIEVE MUST BE ADDRESSED IN THE DOCUMENT TO BE

SIGNED BY FOREIGN MINISTER CAGLAYANGIL AND SECRETARY KISSINGER IN WASHINGTON IN FEBRUARY. WE ALSO ASSUME, I EMPHASIZED, THAT ONCE THIS DOCUMENT IS SIGNED, ALL US OPERATIONS IN TURKEY WHICH HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED WILL BE AT ONCE RESUMED.

2. I THEN PRESENTED ALMOST VERBATIM THE POINTS CONTAINED IN PARAS TWO, THREE, AND FOUR REFTEL, MAKING VERY CLEAR THAT THE PROPOSED RANGE OF ASSISTANCE WAS NOT FOR BARGAINING PURPOSES BUT WAS AS FAR AS WE COULD GO. I FELT IT BEST TO RESERVE INFORMATION ON SUPPLEMENTARY ELEMENTS OF ASSISTANCE (PARA FIVE REFTEL) FOR A LATER SESSION. I ENDED WITH POINT MADE FIRST TICK PARA SIX REFTEL REGARDING OUR WILLINGNESS TO MAKE A SEPARATE UNILATERAL STATEMENT CALLING ATTENTION TO THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO THE SECURITY OF TURKEY (WHICH ELEKDAG DID NOT REPEAT NOT ADDRESS IN HIS COMMENTS).

3. AFTER THANKING ME FOR MY PRESENTATION, ELEKDAG SUMMARIZED WHAT HE BELIEVED TO BE ITS ESSENTIAL POINTS: (A) DEFENSE SUPPORT SHOULD BE DIVORCED FROM THE INSTALLATIONS, (B) THE US AND TURKEY COULD JOINTLY DETERMINE AN AMOUNT OF DEFENSE ASSISTANCE FOR A FIVE-YEAR PERIOD WHICH WOULD BE ENDORSED BY CONGRESS, (C) THIS "GUARANTEE" WOULD BE SUPPLEMENTED BY A CLAUSE INDICATING THAT, IF THE ASSISTANCE IS NOT FURNISHED, TURKEY COULD TERMINATE THE AGREEMENT, (D) DEFENSE ASSISTANCE WOULD BE COMPOSED OF CREDIT AND GRANT WITH THE PROPORTION OF THE LATTER DECREASING, (E) THESE APPROPRIATIONS WOULD BE IN THE FRAMEWORK OF TRADITIONAL MILITARY ASSISTANCE LEGISLATION, AND (F) AS LONG AS THE CYPRUS PROBLEM EXISTS, THERE MAY BE EFFORTS BY CONGRESS TO BLOCK SUCH ASSISTANCE. (IN REGARD TO POINT (B) ABOVE, I REITERATED THAT \$200 MILLION I HAD MENTIONED WAS OUR TOP FIGURE. IN REGARD TO POINT (F), I SAID THAT NO ONE EXPECTS THE CYPRUS PROBLEM TO BE COMPLETELY SETTLED IN THE NEAR FUTURE BUT THAT REAL PROGRESS TOWARD A SETTLEMENT, WHICH WAS IN TURKEY'S OTHER INTERESTS, WAS WHAT WE NEEDED.) ELEKDAG THEN ASKED FOR A WRITTEN SUMMARY OF MY REMARKS, WHICH I HAVE NOW PROVIDED. (TEXT OF SUMMARY ALSO BEING SENT SEPTTEL.)

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4. AFTER ELEKDAG RAISED HIS SUBSEQUENT COMMENTS AND QUESTIONS

AS PRELIMINARY, ELEKDAG ADDRESSED THE TERMINATION CLAUSE. APPARENTLY CONCERNED THAT A U.S. COMMITMENT TO MAKE UP A SHORT-FALL IN SUBSEQUENT FISCAL YEARS COULD PREVENT TURKEY'S RIGHT TO GIVE NOTICE OF TERMINATING THE AGREEMENT AT THE TIME OF THIS SHORT-FALL, ELEKDAG ASKED WHETHER THE TERMINATION

CLAUSE WOULD BE TIED TO ANNUAL SHORT-FALLS IN THE APPROPRIATION. I REPLIED THAT THIS WAS WHAT WAS ENVISAGED BUT THAT THE RULE OF REASON SHOULD PREVAIL IN DETERMINING THE AMOUNT OF SHORTFALL WHICH WOULD BRING ABOUT THE RIGHT TO TERMINATE SINCE ANNUAL CONGRESSIONAL APPROPRIATIONS MIGHT WELL NOT MATCH EXACTLY THE AGREED ANNUAL FIGURE. AMBASSADOR YAVUZALP LATER NOTED THAT, WHILE THE TERMINATION CLAUSE ESTABLISHED A LINK BETWEEN DEFENSE SUPPORT AND U.S. MILITARY INSTALLATIONS IN TURKEY, IT WAS A NEGATIVE LINK, AND THE TURKS WISHED FOR A POSITIVE ONE. GOT WANTED TO PLACE EMPHASIS ON AN AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD LAST NOT ON ONE WHICH WOULD BE TERMINATED. UNDER THE PROPOSAL I WAS MAKING, YAVUZALP ADDED, THE GOT WOULD NOT KNOW FOR CERTAIN WHAT RESOURCES WOULD BE AVAILABLE IN FOLLOWING YEARS NOR COULD THE US BE CERTAIN OF ITS FUTURE PRESENCE, AND CONSEQUENTLY THERE WOULD BE CONTINUED INSTABILITY IN OUR RELATIONSHIP. I EMPHASIZED AGAIN THAT BOTH PRIOR CONGRESSIONAL ENDORSEMENT OF A FIVE-YEAR PROGRAM AND TURKEY'S RIGHT TO TERMINATE THE AGREEMENT IF THERE WERE SIGNIFICANT FAILURE TO IMPLEMENT IT WOULD HELP ENSURE STABILITY IN AID LEVELS. I RE-EMPHASIZED THAT THERE COULD BE NO ABSOLUTE GUARANTEE WITH REGARD TO FUTURE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ANYMORE THAN THE GOT WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO GIVE A COMPARABLE

GUARANTEE REGARDING THEIR OWN PARLIAMENT IF THE SITUATION WERE REVERSED. I POINTED OUT THAT THIS TERMINATION CLAUSE WAS THE BEST MEANS WE COULD FIND TO MEET BOTH OUR CONSTITUTIONAL REQUIREMENTS AND GOT NEED FOR "GUARANTEE" BUT THAT I WOULD WELCOME ANY EFFORT TO REPEAT IT IN A MORE POSITIVE VEIN.

5. TURNING TO THE GRANT AND CREDIT MIX IN THE ASSISTANCE PACKAGE, ELEKDAG NOTED THAT THE GOT HAD NO GUARANTEE
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THAT THE AMOUNT OF GRANT, WHICH AT THE BEGINNING WOULD BE ABOUT 30 PERCENT, WOULD NOT RAPIDLY FALL TO FIVE PERCENT OR LESS BY THE END OF THE PERIOD. ELEKDAG NOTED THAT BURDENS ADDITIONAL BORROWING WOULD PLACE ON TURKEY'S EFFORTS TO MEET ITS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT GOALS. I REPLIED THAT TURKISH MILITARY AUTHORITIES HAD LONG BEEN AWARE THAT GRANT ASSISTANCE WAS BEING PHASED OUT AND HAD UNDOUBTEDLY TAKEN THIS INTO CONSIDERATION IN THEIR PLANNING. I ADDED THAT, IN VIEW OF THE STRONG CONGRESSIONAL SENTIMENT FOR ELIMINATING WORLDWIDE GRANT AID WITHIN NEXT TWO YEARS, THE ISG PROPOSAL TO ATTEMPT TO EXTEND TURKISH GRANT OVER A FIVE-YEAR PERIOD WAS A SIGNIFICANT GESTURE. I SAID I WOULD ASSUME THAT AS THE AGREEMENT PERIOD ADVANCED, THE GRANT PORTION WOULD BE PROGRESSIVELY SMALLER. WHEN YAVUZALP EXPRESSED FEAR THAT CREDIT TERMS MIGHT

NOT BE "SUITABLE", I NOTED THAT, WHILE WE COULD NOT, OF COURSE, PROVIDE GUARANTEES OF FUTURE CREDIT RATES AND CONDITIONS, GOT COULD IN GOOD FAITH ACCEPT THAT THEY WOULD BE AT LEAST IN LINE WITH THOSE OFFERED OTHERS.

6. TURNING TO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE INSTALLATIONS AND TURKEY'S SECURITY, ELEKDAG NOTED THAT TURKEY'S GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY IMPOSED UPON IT THE REQUIREMENT TO MAINTAIN A "LOCAL DETERRENT" AND THAT FOR SUPPORT OF THIS DETERRENT THE GOT DEPENDED UPON THE U.S. WHILE THEY BENEFIT NATO, U.S. INSTALLATIONS ON TURKISH TERRITORY ADD TO THE NEED FOR A "LOCAL DETERRENT." ELEKDAG SAID THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS ENORMOUSLY BOTHERED BY THESE INSTALLATIONS, WHICH HE LIKENED TO SURVEILLANCE TELEVISION IN ONE'S KITCHEN AND BATHROOM, AND WOULD MAKE THEM PRIMARY TARGETS. I EMPHASIZED THAT IT WAS THE STRAITS AND TURKEY'S GEOGRAPHIC POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION RATHER THAN U.S. INSTALLATIONS WHICH GAVE RISE TO TURKEY'S SECURITY THREAT. (I HAD AT THE OUTSET OF MY PRESENTATION EMPHASIZED THAT U.S. HAD ITSELF ASSUMED EXTENSIVE RISKS IN THIS RELATIONSHIP AND THAT OTHER NATO NATIONS HOSTED INSTALLATIONS SIMILAR TO THOSE IN TURKEY.) ELEKDAG SPOKE AT SOME LENGTH OF TURKEY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND THE DIFFICULTY IT FOUND IN MEETING BOTH ITS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND ITS NATIONAL AND NATO MILITARY REQUIREMENTS. FINALLY, HE SAID THAT
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AT THIS STAGE THE DISPARITY BETWEEN TURKISH REQUIREMENTS AND THE AMOUNTS OF ASSISTANCE PROPOSED BY THE USG WAS EXTREMELY GREAT BUT ADDED THAT THIS WAS A MATTER WHICH COULD BE DISCUSSED FURTHER.

7. AT CONCLUSION OF MEETING ELEKDAG ACCEPTED THE WORK PLAN I HAD PROPOSED AT START OF MEETING. HE SUGGESTED THAT WE MEET AGAIN ON MONDAY, JANUARY 19, WHEN HE PROPOSED THAT WE GO OVER ALL BRACKETED (I.E., DISPUTED) LANGUAGE IN THE JOINT WORKING TEXT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, WHICH WAS NOW BEING JOINTLY PREPARED BY OUR RESPECTIVE STAFFS. HE SAID THAT IN THE MONDAY MEETING HE WOULD ALSO PRESENT AN ADDED DRAFT ARTICLE ON THE GUARANTEE OF DEFENSE SUPPORT WHICH WOULD TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE POINTS I HAD MADE IN TODAY'S MEETING AND WOULD ALSO PRESENT THE TURKISH VIEWS." THIS ARTICLE, HE SAID, WOULD NOT RPT NOT INCLUDE THE AMOUNT OF ASSISTANCE. I AGREED WITH THIS PROPOSAL AND EMPHASIZED ONCE AGAIN THAT THE \$200 MILLION ANNUAL LEVEL WAS U.S. LIMIT.

8. COMMENT: THIS IS ABOUT THE REACTION WE EXPECTED FROM THS SENIOR MFA WORKING LEVEL. ELEKDAG WILL NOT TAKE OUR

PROPOSALS TO THE TURKISH GENERAL STAFF AND THE CABINET.
THEIR REACTION WILL PROBABLY BE REFLECTED IN HIS COMMENTS
AT OUR NEXT MEETING ON MONDAY.
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Message Attributes

Automatic DecapTIONing: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COLLECTIVE SECURITY AGREEMENTS, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 15 JAN 1976
DecapTION Date: 28 MAY 2004
DecapTION Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: blochd0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976ANKARA00370
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760015-1177
From: ANKARA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760156/aaaabxfr.tel
Line Count: 228
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 76 STATE 7662
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: blochd0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13 JAN 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <13 JAN 2004 by morefirh>; APPROVED <18 OCT 2004 by blochd0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TURKISH BASE NEGOTIATIONS: JANUARY 15 DISCUSSION WITH SECRETARY GENERAL ELEKDAG ON ASSISTANCE
TAGS: PFOR, MARR, MASS, TU, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006